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Authors

LeGates, Richard T.

Barbour, Elisa

Potepan, Michael

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**Richard T. LeGates
Elisa Barbour
Michael Potepan**

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Richard T. LeGates

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Wrenching changes in the global economy are producing dual cities with poverty and inequality among some segments of the population as others prosper (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991, Goldsmith and Blakeley, 1992). The changes are particularly severe in cities whose economies are most closely linked to the international economy (Sassen, 1991, 1994, Fainstein *et al*, 1992). Analytic techniques to understand the changes are reasonably developed. It would seem that economic development planning in global cities should deploy planners full range of analytic techniques and that social equity should be integral to the planning. This is seldom the case.

The Global City Economic Development Rational Model Equity Planning Gap

The subfield of local economic development planning has emerged in response to the need for planning to assist local government and community-based organizations in their efforts to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment (Blakeley, 1990 xvi).

Most local economic development planning is focused on trying to reverse the downward slide of cities which are not global cities, where planners are desperately seeking to attract or retain business and will “shoot anything that flies” (Rubin, 1988). There is a good deal of economic development planning in global cities, but except for the pioneering work of Rob Mier and colleagues in Chicago it is seldom linked to theory and empirical studies of the global economy and the nature of global cities, employs limited analysis, and only sometimes considers economic and social equity issues.

Local economic development *planning* in the United States--including global U.S. cities-- is dominated by "sales" type activities in which planners attempt to convince firms to come to or remain in their community. "Rational model" activities such as labor market analysis, modeling of the local economy and forecasting are secondary to public relations (Levy, 1990).

The emphasis in local economic development planning in most jurisdictions--both declining and booming--is not on social equity. "Place wars" between competing areas are focused on attracting businesses which will provide the highest possible property tax base and highest paid workforce (Haider, 1992). These place wars are not concerned with economic and social equity.

Much is known about different aspects which might inform global city economic development equity planning--patterns of global economic restructuring and changing local economies, the emergence of global cities, the practice of local economic development planning, and equity planning. However, systematic treatment of global city economic development equity planning is still in its infancy.

Some local economic development planning has concerned itself with theoretical aspects of social equity in economic development planning (Bingham and Mier, 1993, Freeman and Katz, 1994, Krumholz, 1991, Mier, 1993, Wilson 1987, Wilson, 1996), provided a framework within which planners can better understand the labor force strengths of communities (Ranney and Bettancur, 1992, Theodore and Carlsen, 1996), and focused on operational strategies to attract business to low income neighborhoods and provide jobs for hard-to-employ people (Chicago Workshop on Economic Development, 1990, Keating, 1986, Krumholz, 1991).

Local economic development planners seeking to improve conditions for economically depressed neighborhoods and hard to employ people plan for economic development (e.g. assisting city agencies and CBOs decide what loans to make, where, and to whom), job training (e.g. providing training activities to prepare un- or marginally-employed people for work), social policy planning (e.g. how to transition welfare dependent people to gainful employment), or physical planning (e.g. how to zone areas in light of the prospects for different kinds of economic activities to locate in the area). The academic literature has not placed these activities in the context of equity planning (Krumholz and Forester, 1990, Krumholz, 1991) and much work could be done to link understanding of local economic development planning to the literature on global economic restructuring and the nature of global cities.

Understanding the industrial and occupational structure of a local economy can help local economic development entities direct scarce local community development, job training, redevelopment, small business and other program resources well as well as inform a city's physical planning and capital improvement strategies. Good information can help city agencies and economic development, community development, and job training CBOs support local firms that will produce good jobs for city residents, educate the local workforce for jobs which will exist, and manage the city's physical development to take advantage of economic trends which will increase economic and social equity. Local economic development programs aimed at increasing social equity which are not grounded in good information can produce small business development loans for industries which have little or no chance of succeeding regardless of the ability and dedication of their owners, job training funds which train people for jobs which disappear

or never materialize, planning uses of federal empowerment zone or enterprise community funds to retain jobs which would continue without the support or will not continue even with it, miszoning of areas for industry, high tech, or office use that will not materialize, or other costly and frustrating strategic mistakes. Figure 1 illustrates the concern of this paper-- filling the global city rational model economic development equity planning gap.

Figure 1

How Local Economic Development Equity Planning For Global Cities Fits Into Current Planning Practice		
Economic Development Planning Not Concerned with Equity		Planning Which Is Not Economic Development Planning
Economic Development Equity Planning in Cities which are not Global Cities	Global city “rational model” economic development equity planning	

Equity in Global City Economic Development: Lessons From San Francisco

The term global city has come into use recently to describe certain large metropolitan centers that occupy prominent positions in the integrated global economy. Saskia Sassen in *The Global City* (1991) strictly reserves this term for a relative handful of financial centers around the globe (New York, London, Tokyo) but suggests that a

hierarchy exists within which other important metropolitan centers perform subordinate, but related functions in the global economy. Sassen places San Francisco in this latter category. Sassen argues that because of the growing internationalization of private sector financial and investment decisions, as well as the continued growth in contractual arrangements between transnational companies, certain managerial coordination and financial functions crucial in controlling and supporting this activity are becoming ever more centralized in a relatively few global cities. While other researchers have somewhat expanded the definition of the global city, most agree that global cities are critically linked to the global economy by providing producer services to firms doing global business.

Sassen and others note that the economic base of global cities is highly geared toward information-oriented producer services: banking, non-banking finance, insurance, corporate headquarters, law, advertising, accounting, engineering and architecture, and related services. Substantial and growing activity in these sectors is to be expected in global cities and a central issue for economic development planners concerned with social equity is how disadvantaged city residents can be helped or hurt by such economic activity. All of this high-end economic activity is densely packed into a core business district that is at the center of a large, diverse, economically thriving metropolitan economy. Indeed many job opportunities related to the city's global status are occurring beyond the city's political boundaries. Many of the producer services provided in the core are "exported" beyond the local region to other parts of the world. In addition to this economically vibrant core, there are other parts of the global city that are not doing so well. Formerly strong industrial sectors are in decline (manufacturing, transportation, trade). Lower income residential neighborhoods around the core are increasingly

populated by low income minority residents. Global cities are usually immigration entry points, and have significant populations of recent immigrants from other countries.

While many low-wage, low-skilled service jobs are available in the thriving core area, there are still more low-skilled, poorly educated persons seeking work who live in the depressed urban neighborhoods surrounding the core. High-wage, high-skilled jobs are filled by highly educated workers living in upscale urban neighborhoods, or commuting from affluent suburbs.

Equity Planners are concerned with the consequences of planning for social equity. Equity planning has thusfar been primarily focused on conventional physical planning decisions such as the construction of a new highway, general plan approval, zoning decisions, and approval of residential projects (Krumholz and Forester, 1992), though a principal exponent of equity planning has described how the equity planning model can be extended to economic development (Krumholz, 1991). For these kinds of planning decisions equity planners ask what will be the consequences of alternative courses of action for social equity. In what ways might public interventions strengthen the prospects of disadvantaged populations and increase the prospects of achieving a more just society. Highway location decisions which will increase the access of poor neighborhoods without imposing negative externalities on them, inclusionary zoning, spatially equitable capital improvement programming, and many other public policy actions can improve equity as well as contribute to the overall strength of a city.

The emerging vision of global city economies developed by Sassen and others makes clear that the changing economic structure of global cities--particularly the increasing gap between highly skilled workers in a position to take advantage of the economic strength of the global city economy and unskilled workers who contribute only low skilled support such as cleaning or filing to global city operations or are not connected to the global aspect of the cities economy in any way require equity planning.

How do the characteristics of San Francisco and its economy conform to this picture of the global city and how have recent economic changes affected equity in San Francisco? San Francisco is the historic main city of the metropolitan Bay Area, a region with over 6 million people, though another Bay Area city--San Jose--now has a larger population than San Francisco¹ and San Francisco's dominance as a center of jobs related to the global economy has been steadily eroded by other cities in the region². The metropolitan Bay Area is the home of Silicon Valley, as well as a large number of industries producing for the world market: bio-technology, telecommunications, multimedia, banking and non-banking finance, petrochemical manufacturing, and tourism. Almost half of San Francisco's jobs are in producer and related services.³ San Francisco has a highly disproportionate share of jobs in such producer service areas as: engineering, advertising, law, banking, non-banking finance, insurance, real estate, and accounting. Disproportionately high employment in these industries suggests that many of

¹ In 1990 San Jose had a population of 782,248; San Francisco 723,959 (Bay Area Council 1991 p A-4).

² In 1980 San Francisco had 552,200 of the Bay Area's 2,535,155 jobs (22.1%) in 1980 and 578,912 of the Bay Areas 3,072,938 jobs (18.1%) in 1990.

³ Over 207,000 jobs were found in Services Sold to Other Businesses, Finance & Insurance, Real Estate, Communications, and Hotels out of about 520,000 total private sector jobs in 1990.

these services are exported beyond the local region. Most of these jobs are located in a dense grouping of office towers comprising the city's financial district. In San Francisco, millions of square feet of new office space were constructed each year during a ten year office boom that ended in the mid 1980's. San Francisco has also seen substantial decline over the years in manufacturing, transportation, and trade.

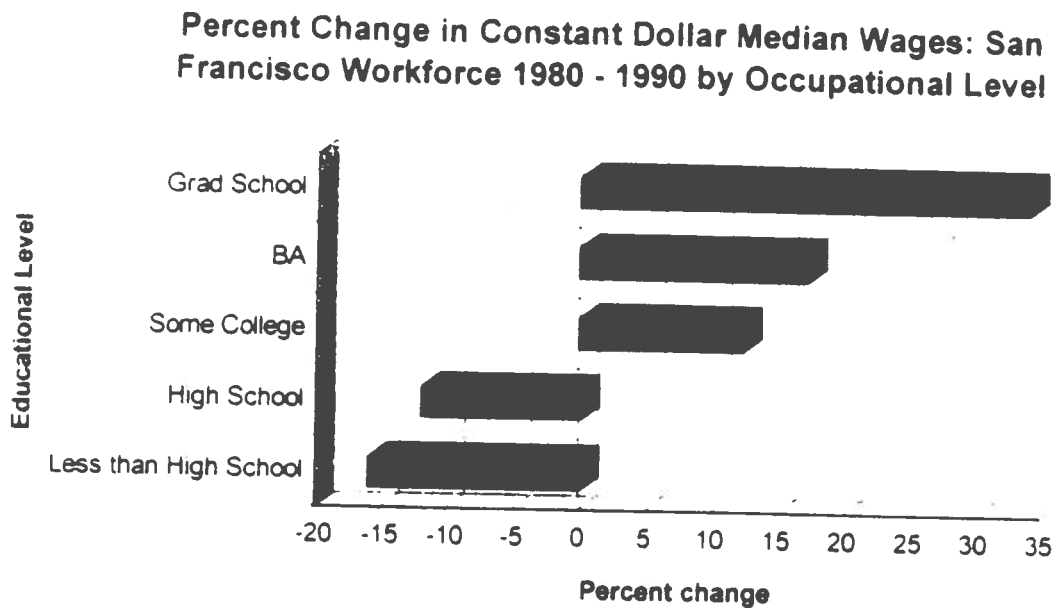
Despite its generally prosperous economy and high median per-capita income for city residents, significant portions of San Francisco's population are in poverty or near-poverty. Many of its resident workers do not have the skills or education to qualify for high-wage jobs in the financial district. Over 45% of the city's labor force commutes from outlying suburbs (DeLeon et al, 1995 p 21). San Francisco has always been a key west coast entry point for immigrants into the United States, and many of its neighborhoods are populated by new arrivals. So in every important way, San Francisco conforms to the global city pattern.

The 1980's were a period of economic prosperity for much of the United States and particularly for global cities whose economies are particularly related to global financial and managerial services or production of high technology for export. San Francisco--a strategic Pacific rim city--gained population and jobs, experienced a downtown office boom through mid decade, and experienced an enormous structural shift away from sunset industries such as manufacturing, fishing, and agriculture into business and financial services and technology-based economic activity. San Francisco continued its historic role as a port of entry for foreign immigrants--predominantly from Southeast Asia, Mexico and Central America.

Recent national analyses of industrial restructuring in the United States conclude that prospects for people with limited education, whose skills are in manufacturing or other declining sectors of the U.S. economy, and immigrants with cultural and language barriers to employment are not good (Blank, 1994, Bluestone, Stevenson and Tilly, 1991, Bound and Holzer, 1993, Kasarda, 1995, Sum, 1990).

During the 1980's in San Francisco the total number of new jobs for people with limited education--less than a high school education or a high school degree--grew. However, Figure 2 shows growing economic fragmentation.

Figure 2



Between 1980 and 1990 the constant dollar median wages of members of the San Francisco workforce with less than a high school education dropped by 15.9% while those with graduate school educations increased by 34%.

Garment-related workers--mostly Asian immigrant women who do not speak English and have less than a high school education⁴ earned an average annual income of \$9,451 in 1990 and experienced a 44% decline in real wages during the decade. Lawyers and judges--well educated, mostly native born, and predominantly white males--increased real wages during the same period by 50% to an average of \$ 50,000. The economic and occupational structure of San Francisco is fracturing along gender, race, and national origin lines. Economic development equity planning is needed for San Francisco and if these patterns exist in other global cities there as well.

Understanding The Prospects for Hard-to-employ Global City Workers

Cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis of local conditions using the best available data sources can contribute to understanding the situation and prospects of firms and individuals in a local labor market. This *analysis* can look at *industries, occupations of individuals*, or both (Blank, 1994, Theodore and Carlson, 1995, Greenberg et al 1982, McKee and Froeschle, 1985, Ranney and Beancur 1992).

⁴ 9,085 of San Francisco's 14,431 garment workers in 1990 were Asian/Pacific Islander women. Only 3% of these women were born in the United States and 78% reported that they do not speak English well (47%) or at all (31%). Author's Analysis of 1990 PUMs data.

The U.S. Census of Population and Housing (Census 1990a) is the standard source of data on occupations. Summaries of occupation are available at the census tract level in SFT3 and SFT4 files.⁵ The census' Public Use Microdata (PUMs) data set is a 5% sample of census long forms including 504 occupational categories and 243 industry categories. PUMs data is available in electronic form for every geographical area of the United States.⁶ Summary Tape file data and ES202 data--where available--have the advantage of providing area data--even down to the census tract level, but the disadvantage that data is grouped so that analysis of individual cases is not possible.

An approach developed by researchers at the University of Illinois (Ranney and Bettancur, 1992) called "labor force based development" offers a fruitful approach in local economic development equity planning. Ranney and Bettancur were able to use ES202 data (Available in Illinois, but not in California) to profile the labor force in selected Chicago neighborhoods and provide economic developers and job training organizations with a profile of *neighborhood* labor forces not generally available from other sources. City agencies and CBOs can then attempt to attract or retain businesses which fit the neighborhood labor force profiles.

⁵ This data is available in electronic form from Summary Tape Files 3 and 4. STF3 provides summary information on occupations and industries by census tract using 94 occupational and 71 industrial categories. STF4 provides breakdowns of this data by race and gender.

⁶ There are a number of limitations in using PUMs data for local economic development analysis. Since census data is collected only once each decade data becomes increasingly out of date as the decade progresses. PUMs data is aggregated into geographical units called PUMAs which may not fit local planners preferred boundaries for analyzing labor markets. Data on the place of employment of persons who work outside the local jurisdiction is missing for many pre-1990 census cases.

The census *County Business Patterns Series* (Census 1990b) is the standard source of data on *industries*. In some states employment security agencies make available a Covered Employment and Wages file--ES202 data--for substate and sometimes subcounty areas (White *et al* 1990) which contains information on number of firms, total employment, and average wages by industry organized by ZIP code. ES202 data is not available to universities, cities, and CBOs in California.

Census data may be analyzed in conjunction with other State, regional, and local data sources.⁷ Forecasts of probable futures can be derived from this analysis using standard economic forecasting techniques (Blakeley 1994, Greenberg *et al*, 1982, McKee and Froeschle, 1985).

The *industrial structure* of an urban area's economy can be analyzed in terms of the economy's size, industrial composition, occupational composition, pay levels, and other aspects at a point in time or over time. The census categorizes industries on the basis of hundreds of Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes. A threshold analytic task is data reduction: recoding SIC codes into categories which are few enough in number to be understandable, but detailed enough provide insight into local conditions. For San Francisco seventeen sectors⁸ provide an appropriate level of detail, though planners in other cities might choose different numbers of categories or category boundaries to match local conditions. Analyzing these broad industrial sectors in relation to key variables can

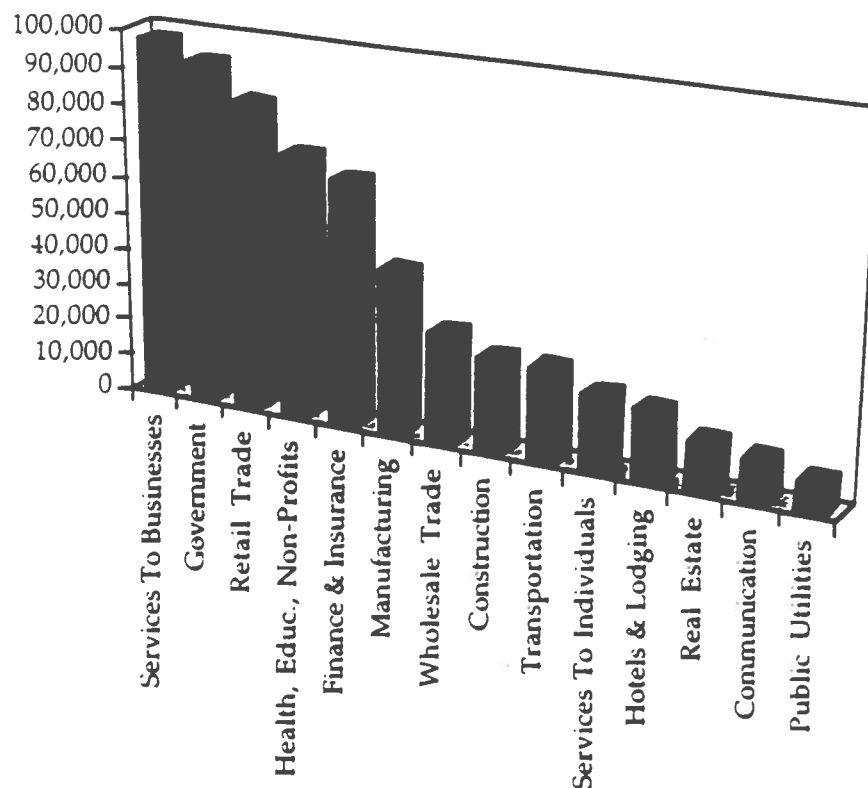
⁷ Sources particularly useful for San Francisco which are used throughout this paper are: California State Employment Development Department (EDD) *Annual Planning Information* (EDD 1993) and the Association of Bay Area Government's *Employment Projections* (ABAG 1993).

⁸ Communication, construction, finance and insurance, government; health, hotels and lodging, education, and nonprofits, manufacturing, public utilities, services to businesses, real estate, retail trade,

help local decision-makers understand what is happening in the local economy and how local changes are related to changes in the global economy. This analysis sets the stage for more applied economic development planning.

Figure 3 shows that *total employment* of San Francisco's resident and commuter workforce is concentrated in sectors characteristic of global, informational cities--services to business, government, finance and insurance. Figure 3 also shows the effects of the well documented decline of manufacturing as manufacturing shifts to lower labor cost areas of the world (Cohen and Zysman, 1987, Reich 1991) is true in San Francisco's economy.

Figure 3
Total Employment For San Francisco's Broad Industrial Sectors



Source: County Business Patterns

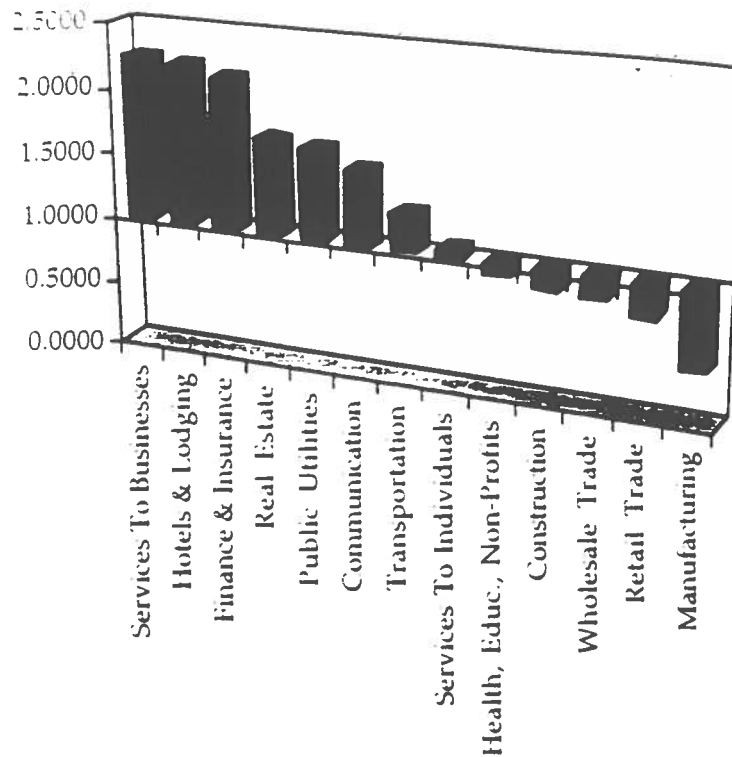
services to individuals, transportation, wholesale trade.

Michael Porter of the Harvard Business school has stimulated interest in analysis of the comparative advantage of city economies (Porter, 1994). Location quotients, which measure the ratio of the proportion of employment in a sector of the economy for one geographical area such as a city to that of another such as a region, state, or country, are helpful in understanding an area's competitive advantage. A location quotient higher than one indicates that an area has more of that activity than the comparison unit; lower than one that it has less. Knowing local location quotients can help local economic development planners and local policy makers understand which sectors of their local economy are strong or weak relative to other areas. This information can inform decisions to invest in sectors where the area has a comparative advantage, to shore up sectors in which the area is weak, or in mixed strategies.

Regional and national location quotients were calculated for San Francisco industrial sectors. Figure 4 shows 1990 industry location quotients comparing sectors of the San Francisco economy to the U.S. economy. San Francisco has higher than average proportions of industrial activity in activities such as services to businesses, finance and insurance, and communications. This is further evidence of the extent to which San Francisco's economy is tied to the global economy. As both a business and tourist destination San Francisco also has a high location quotient for hotels and lodging. The city's manufacturing location quotient is the lowest of any of the broad industrial sectors displayed in figure 4.

Figure 4

National Location Quotients For
San Francisco's Broad Industrial Sectors



The location quotients in figure 4 suggest that the competitive strength of San Francisco's economy lies primarily in sectors that employ persons in white collar jobs. Saskia Sassen (Sassen, 1991, 1994) and others point out these sectors and firms which support white collar workers also employ blue collar janitors, repairmen, food services personnel, security guards and others who may not be engaged in work which is either white collar or highly paid. An important question for local economic development equity planners is the extent to which the sectors of San Francisco and other global cities can absorb people with limited education into white collar jobs related to the global economy. Important findings regarding this issue for San Francisco are presented below.

Cross-sectional analysis of the average pay or the distribution of salaries within broad industrial sectors, the percentage of establishments by size compared with the percentage of employees by size of the establishments in which they work, and related analysis can shed light on politically charged common perceptions and determine whether attributes and trends which may apply to the U.S. economy as a whole also apply to the economy of a given global city. This is illustrated by findings concerning employment change in small versus large firms and the wage structure of different industries.

A recurring debate among economic development practitioners is the relative importance of large versus small firms. In San Francisco while the great majority of San Francisco firms (85%) are small, the great majority of total jobs (73%) are concentrated in large firms.⁹ However in recent years the rate of job growth has been higher in small firms than in large firms.¹⁰ Small firms--particularly firms owned by minorities, recent immigrants, and women may be particularly appropriate for local economic development assistance both to support the owners and because these firms may be more likely to hire minorities, women, and recent immigrants. Support for neighborhood-based neighborhood-serving firms may also be in order. A case in point is San Francisco's Rainbow Grocery -- a cooperatively owned grocery store located in and serving San Francisco's largely Hispanic Mission district. City Agencies and neighborhood based economic development CBOs have assisted Rainbow grocery's successful expansion.

⁹ A large firm is defined in this paper as a firm employing more than 100 people.

¹⁰ Between 1983 and 1990 the growth rate in the number of employees in small firms (employing 1 - 19 employees) was 9.99%; in large firms (employing over 100 people) it was 3.88%. During the recession large firms lost employees at a higher rate than small firms. Between 1990 and 1992 large firms lost 12.95 percent of their employees while small firms lost 3.35% of theirs.

Longitudinal analysis of a local area's industrial structure can shed light on how the industrial sector is changing over time. A key concern is how the number of employees in different sectors is changing over time. San Francisco experienced a period of relative prosperity from 1983 - 1990 and a sharp recession during the first half of the 1990's. Figure 5 illustrates how analysis of the changing industrial structure of the city during these two periods can illuminate local economic development planning.

Figure 5

Employment Change In High and Low Paying Sectors of
The San Francisco Economy 1983 - 1990 and 1990 - 1992

	Employment Change 1983 - 1992	Employment Change 1990 - 1992	Employment Change 1983 - 1992
A. High Paying Industrial Sectors			
Services to Businesses	27,436	-8,085	19,351
Wholesale Trade	2,600	-6,242	- 3,642
Transportation	348	-9,867	- 9,519
Public Utilities (Gas, Electric, Etc.)	-182	709	527
Communication	-9,400	-1,336	-10,736
Finance and Insurance	-11,655	-3,938	-15,593
Construction	-18,494	-5,298	-23,792
Employment Change for All High Paying Jobs	- 9,347	-34,058	-43,045
B. Low Paying Industrial Sectors			
Health, Educ., Nonprofits	20,897	- 1,500	19,397
Retail Trade	16,624	- 9,169	7,455
Services to Individuals	6,249	- 2,328	3,921
Hotels and Lodging	5,405	724	6,129
Real Estate	1,847	- 1,591	256
Employment Change For All Low Paying Jobs	51,322	-22,010	29,312
Total Employment Change	41,975	-56,068	13,233

Figure 5 shows dramatic changes in the industrial structure of San Francisco. During the prosperous period 1983 - 1990, sectors of the San Francisco economy which have low average pay per person were growing rapidly--more than 50,000 jobs during the seven years. During the same period jobs in sectors of the San Francisco economy which have high average pay per person declined by more than 9,000 jobs. The recession hit both sectors hard. The erosion of jobs in sectors with high average wages accelerated; the growth of jobs in sectors with low average pay per person reversed itself and became negative. Data for San Francisco suggests that San Francisco--unlike Chicago and other Midwestern cities William Julius Wilson studied (Wilson, 1987, Wilson, 1996) which are losing jobs accessible to hard-to-employ workers--continues to create jobs in low paying sectors.

In addition to analyzing the *industrial structure* of a local economy it is useful to analyze *occupations*. Data to do this is contained in the US. *Census of Population and Housing* (Census, 1990a). PUMs data provides a 5% sample of this data. A beginning point in analysis of any area's occupational structures is to understand the absolute number of jobs grouped into meaningful categories. The *Census of Population and Housing* classifies occupations into hundreds of occupational classifications. As with SIC Codes a threshold analytic task is to reduce occupational classifications for an area into a set which is small enough to be understandable, but detailed enough to provide insight on the local occupational structure. Accordingly San Francisco occupational classifications were grouped into 24 categories.¹¹ Illustrative findings drawn from analysis of these

¹¹ Administrative supervisors, administrative support, cleaning, construction, drivers/loaders, farm/fish/garden, food prep, health assistants, health professionals, health technicians, law, machine operators, managers, mechanics, mixed skills, personal services, public sales, professionals,

occupational categories in relation to other demographic variables illustrate how local economic development equity planners can use census occupational categories to understand a local economy in relation to the global economy. The following analyses are of the San Francisco workforce--including both city residents and commuters.¹²

San Francisco's 1990 occupation profile, like the profile of the city's industrial structure described above, shows the global characteristics of the city economy. More than one third of all jobs (37.2%) are management and administrative support (clerical) jobs. Professionals and business sales jobs are the next largest category.

How the occupational structure is changing is even more important to local economic development planners than what the occupational structure of an area is at a given point in time. While it would be desirable to track annual changes in a city's occupational structure census data is only available every ten years. Comparison of 1980 and 1990 data provides insight into the direction in which the occupational structure of an area is moving.

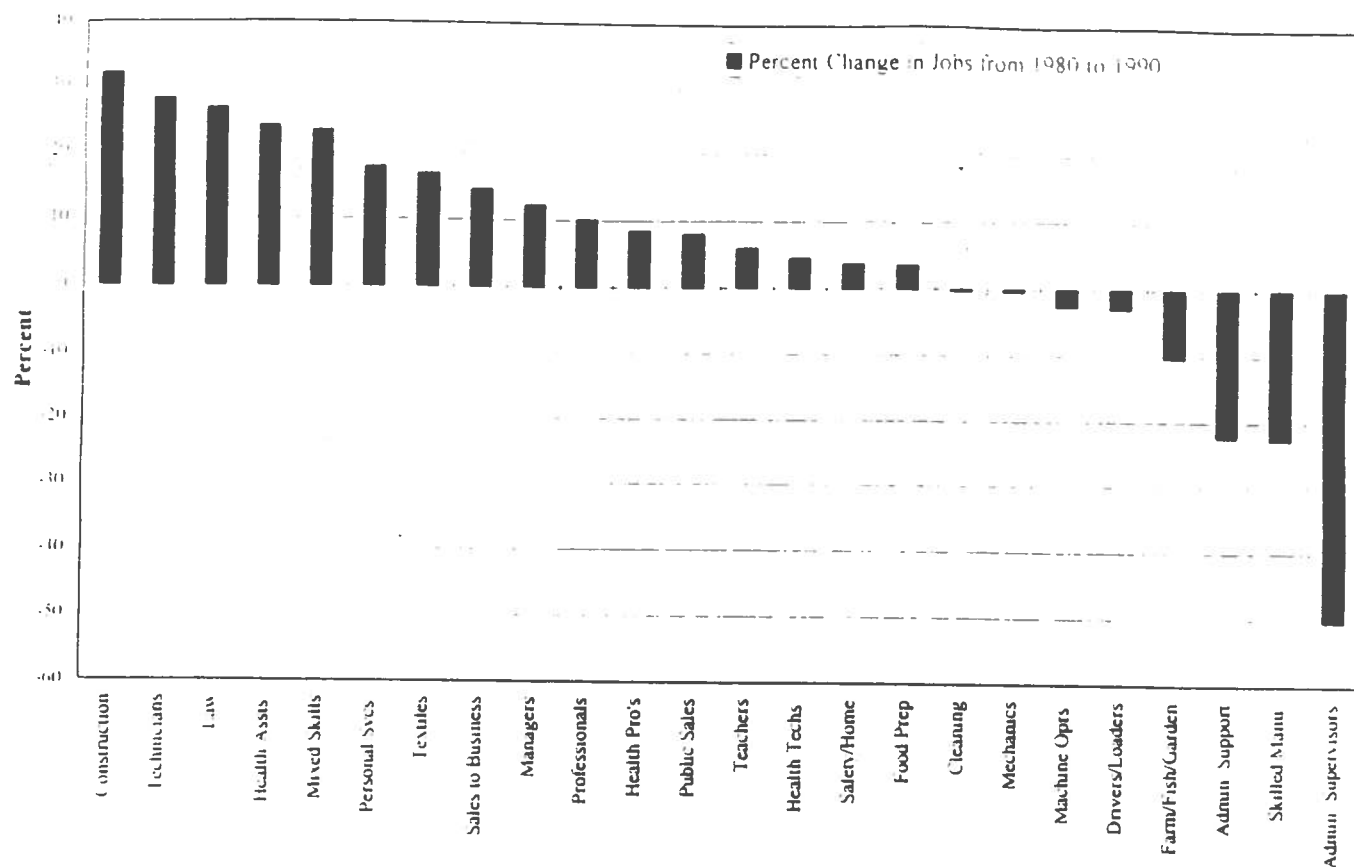
Figure 6 illustrates how PUMs occupational data can clarify how a local economy is related to the global economy and the employment prospects of hard-to-employ global city workers. It shows the percent change in the number of jobs in San Francisco by occupation between 1980 and 1990.

safety/home, sales to business, skilled manufacturing, teachers, technicians, and garment work.

¹² Commuters from other areas in California who work in San Francisco were included, but city residents who commute out of the city to work were excluded. The unemployed and those not in the labor force were also excluded.

Figure 6

Percent Change in the Number of Jobs by Occupation from 1980 to 1990

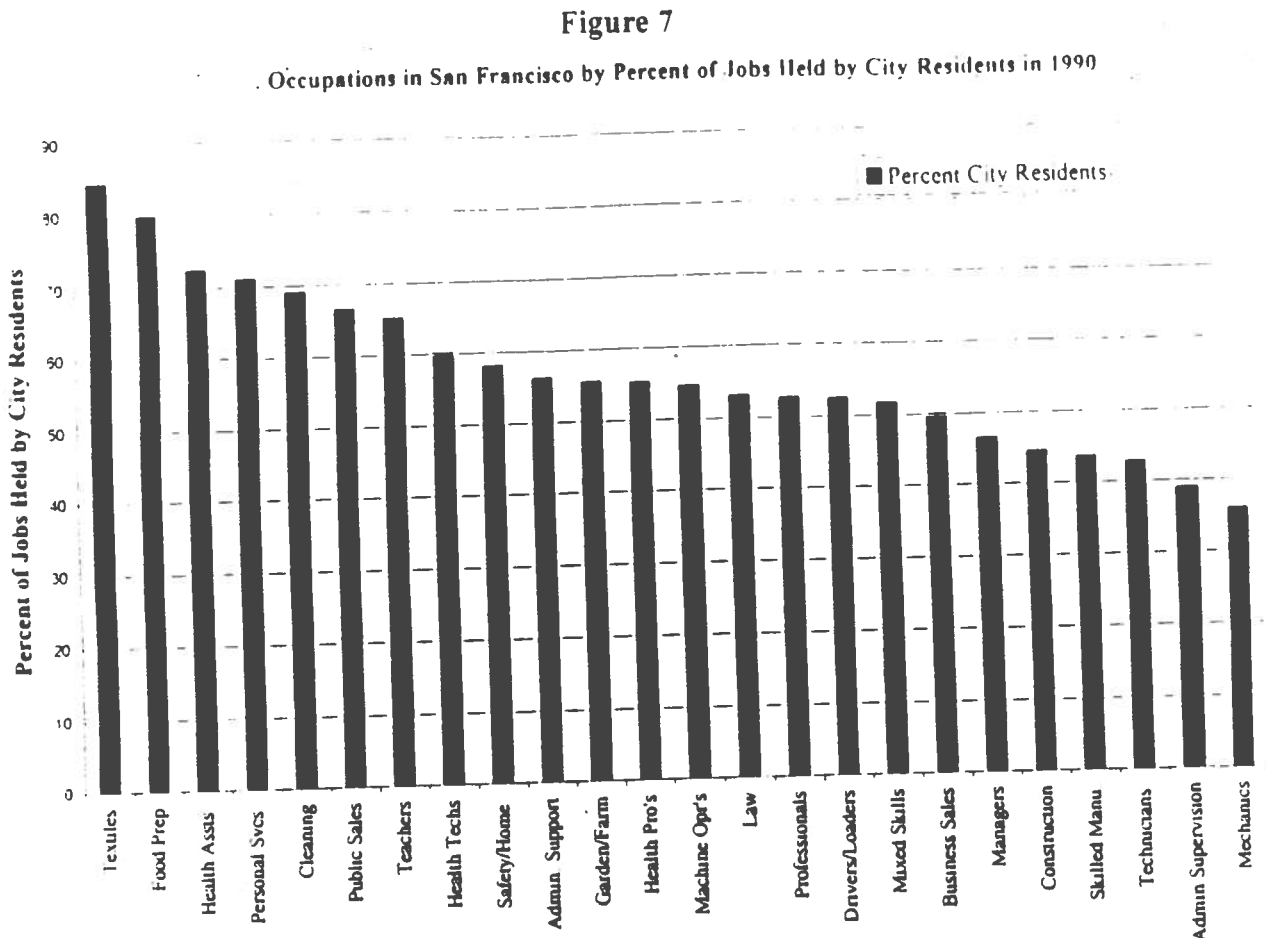


Striking features of Figure 6 are the decline in administrative supervisors and skilled manufacturing jobs in San Francisco between 1980 and 1990. There were significant job gains in both high wage occupations (law, technicians, managers, professionals) and low wage occupations (garment-related and personal services workers). Not only are the average wages of high and low wage occupations growing further apart as illustrated in figure 1 there is *absolute growth* in the number of people employed in both high and low wage occupations, while moderate-paying jobs available to San Franciscan's with high school or some college only are declining--a phenomenon we term San Francisco's disappearing middle (Barbour, forthcoming).

Analysis of census occupational data sheds light on the difference between the resident and commuter workforce. Only a little more than half of the San Francisco workforce (55%) is composed of city residents. Forty-five percent of city-based jobs are held by commuters. It is commonly asserted that highly paid, highly educated, white, male, commuters come into central cities to work in professional, managerial and other high status jobs, while much of the low paid, low status city work is done by a poorly-educated, poorly paid, and predominantly minority resident workforce. To the extent that this is true local economic development planners may want to pursue strategies to increase the share of better jobs the resident workforce has; assure access of the city workforce to desirable suburban jobs, or other strategies.

Based on analysis of PUMs data (DeLeon *et al*, 1995: 24) San Francisco commuters in 1990 earned one third more, on average, than city residents (mean annual earnings of \$ 30,000 for commuters compared for \$ 20,000 for city residents). Contrary to common perceptions commuters into San Francisco were only somewhat more likely to be employed in professional or managerial occupations (40% versus 34%), and were only somewhat more likely to be non-Hispanic whites (61% versus 53%). San Francisco has many high cost residential areas occupied by people working in well-paying jobs in the city so that a substantial number of the people working in high-wage, high-status global city jobs in San Francisco live in the city. To what extent high status, highly paid workers live in other global cities where their jobs are concentrated rather than suburban or exurban locations is an important research question. A substantial number of San Francisco residents work in relatively low paying jobs outside the city's borders--particularly in Northern San Mateo county.

San Francisco city residents account for a large percentage of the persons employed in some low wage/low status occupations--cleaning, food preparation, personal services, health assistants, and garment work. These patterns are shown in Figure 7.



Analysis of the wage structure, educational attainment, gender and ethnic patterns within occupations is extremely important for economic development planners. There is recent research on occupations and race (Bettancor and Gills, 1993, Bluestone, Stevenson, and Tilly, 1993, Bound and Holzer, 1993, Sum and Fogg, 1990, Wilson, 1987, Wilson, 1996).

Wage data by industry is sometimes available from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics for States or large metropolitan areas.¹³ In our study median wages in 1990 were computed from PUMs data for occupational categories as there was no timely BLS survey data usable for San Francisco at the time of this study.

Assuring Best Employment Futures For Hard-to-employ Global City Workers

The above sections have described an approach to economic development equity planning, a methodology for analyzing the industrial and occupational structure of areas and illustrative findings from applications of these method to San Francisco. The focus of this article is on the situation of hard-to-employ workers--those who have the greatest difficulty in finding work or attaining stable employment with decent wages. People with limited education are at a disadvantage in the labor market of global cities. As John Kasarda has shown (Kasarda, 1990a, 1990b) many city youth are now leaving school before completing a high school degree. Analysis of the situation and prospects of people with low educational attainment illustrates how to analyze the situation of other hard-to-employ groups.

Effective city policy must understand and move ahead of the curve of changes occurring as a result of global economic forces. City policy can bend these forces to improve the city's situation and increase equity in the city's job structure so that the poor, poorly-educated, linguistically isolated, unacculturated and otherwise disadvantaged populations will have greater opportunities than they would otherwise have.

¹³ BLS *Occupational Wage Surveys*.

City resources for economic development might best be directed towards supporting growth in sectors of the private economy in which the city has a competitive advantage which are likely to grow most strongly in absolute and percentage terms and which also will provide entry level jobs where wages are high relative to educational attainment. Each labor market area has a unique configuration of possible jobs which will best meet all these criteria.

Economic development planners will want to have as large an impact as possible. Cross-sectional analysis of the absolute size of different industrial and occupational categories can inform decisions about where public intervention to stimulate the economy are likely to have the largest absolute payoff. Public interventions which successfully increase total employment 10% for a large sector of the local economy such as administrative support jobs in San Francisco which account for nearly a fifth of all jobs will have a much larger impact than a 10% increase in a small sector of the local economy such as skilled manufacturing.

Similarly public intervention which can increase the *rate* of job formation in a sector which is forecast to increase at a brisk rate will have a larger relative impact than increasing the rate of increase of a sector that is forecast to increase at a lower rate.

Most cities consciously attempt to stimulate growth in sectors of the economy which will produce jobs for highly educated, highly paid workers. If successful this strategy will produce an upper class, well paid population and strong local revenue. But it may not produce employment opportunities for persons who are unable to take advantage

of these jobs because they lack the necessary education, language skills, or other requisite job characteristics. Analysis of jobs which are realistically attainable by people with limited educations is an essential aspect of economic development equity planning.

Analyzing the educational attainment structure of occupations will clarify the probabilities people with a given education level will find employment in a given occupation. For San Francisco we analyzed the average education required for different occupations in 1990 based on 1990 PUMS data. Since PUMs data is available only every ten years and the educational requirements for occupations are constantly changing these findings should be interpreted with caution. An alternative approach to estimating the educational requirements for local jobs is to use national estimates of the amount of education required for different occupations maintained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics¹⁴.

Once the structure and prospects of occupations which are realistically attainable by people with limited education are identified a key question is how desirable must a job be in order to merit public support for attracting and retaining it. An extreme position advocated by Charles Murray (Murray 1984) and other conservatives is that that a low wage, dirty and unpleasant job is superior to no job. Most economic development planners would not advocate policies to attract jobs which fall below a minimum threshold of wage and working conditions. Figure 8 below plots 1990 education level and median wages derived from PUMs data for San Francisco.

¹⁴ The National Crosswalk Data Center in Iowa maintains information on the general educational development (GED) and specific vocational preparation (SVP) required for different occupations. While this data may be helpful to local economic development equity planners, and particularly to city agencies and CBOs involved in job training national data on educational requirements may not be

Figure 8

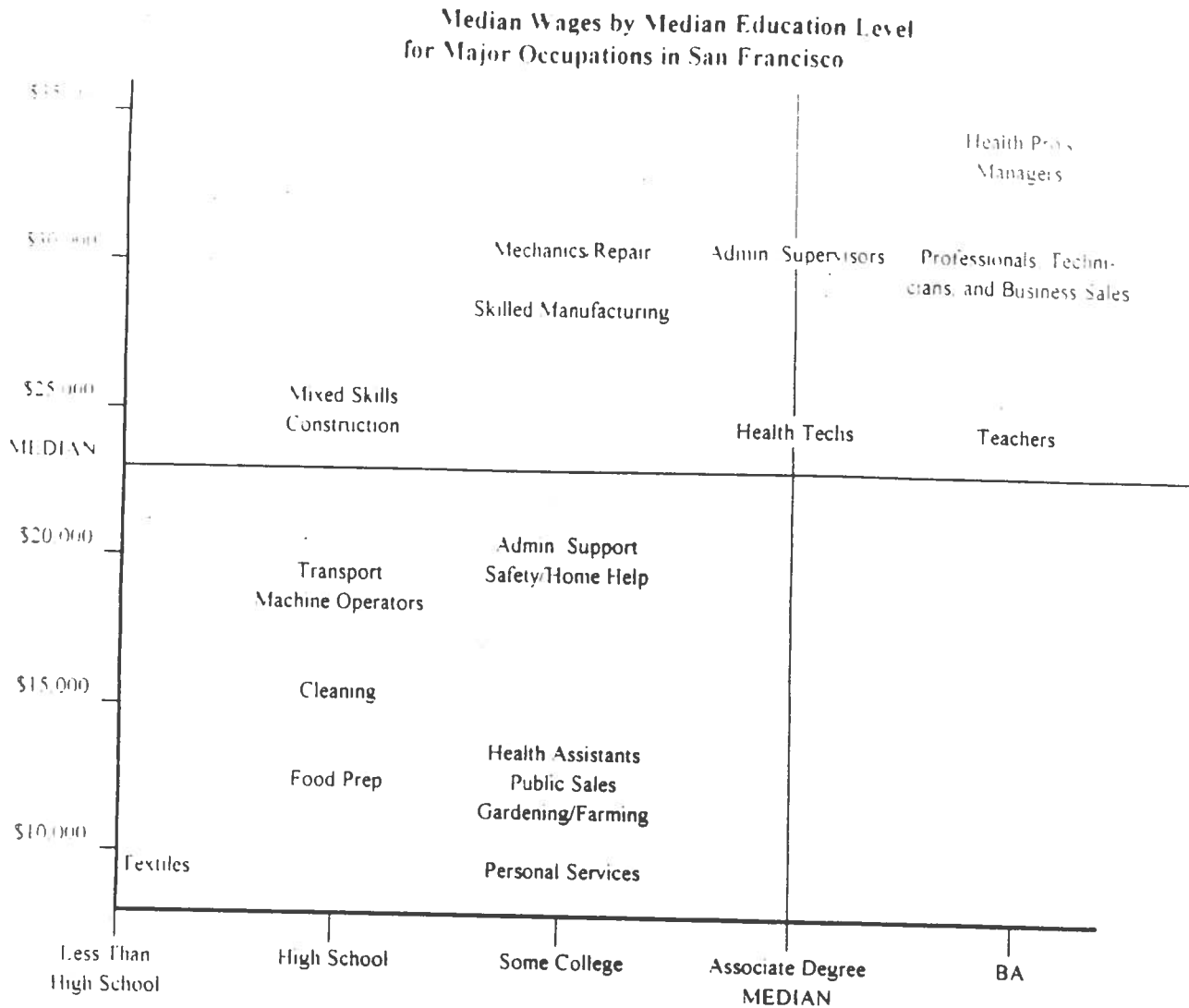


Figure 8 shows that *on average* construction workers in San Francisco have completed a high school education and that *on average* they make much higher wages than people who work in other occupations such as food preparation and cleaning which *on average* require the same amount of education. It does not indicate how many jobs in each occupational category there are, or anything about trends in the number of jobs or wage rates.

realistic in the super-heated and rapidly changing economies of global cities such as San Francisco.

Focusing just on the absolute number of jobs and median 1990 wages by occupational category for workers with a high school education or less Figure 9 reveals the importance of jobs related to management and administration to people with limited education in global cities like San Francisco.

Figure 9

Median Wage and Total Number of Jobs by Occupation in San Francisco for Workers with a High School Education or Less in 1990

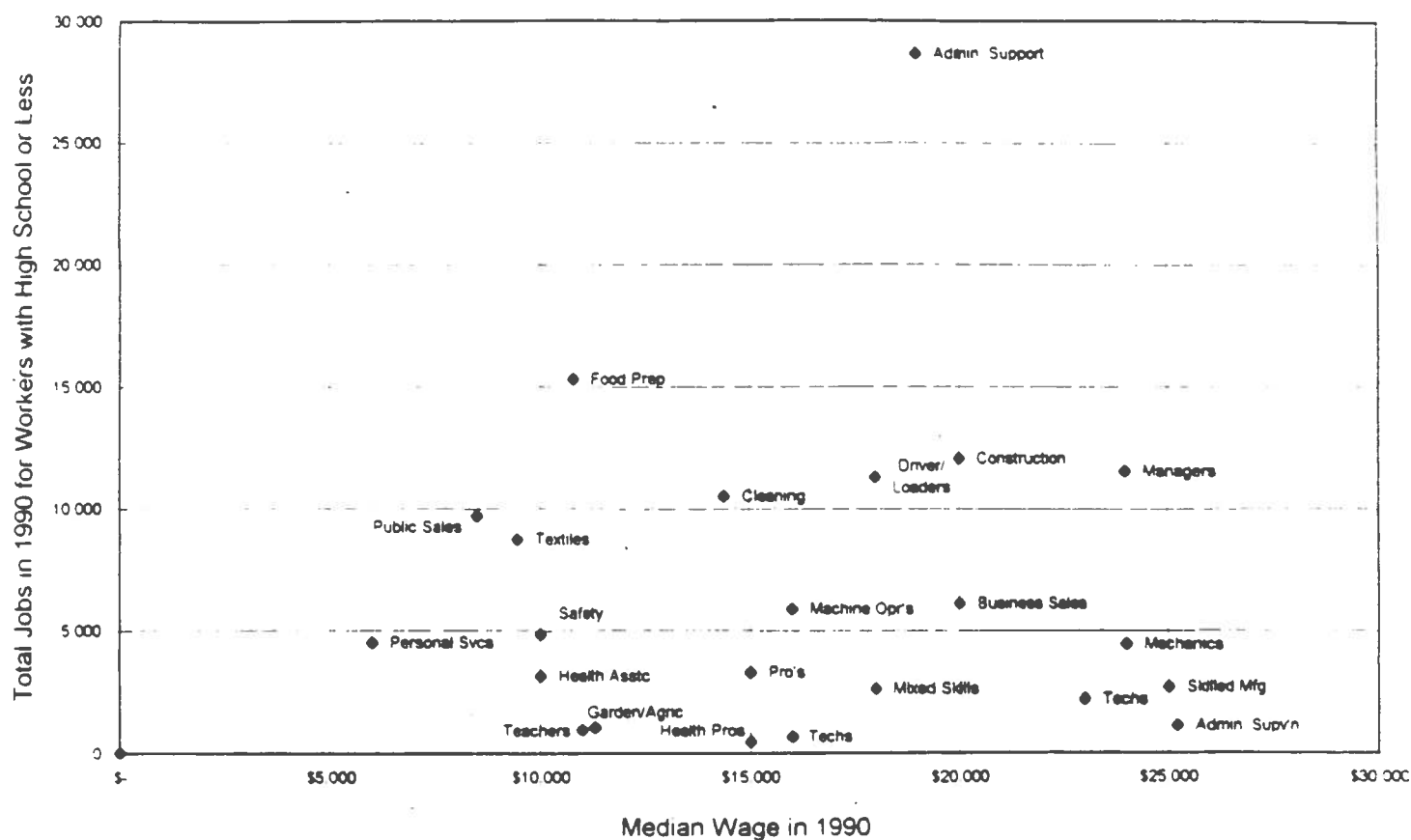


Figure 9 shows that in San Francisco almost 30,000 people with a high school education or less work in administrative support positions at much higher median wages than workers with comparable education in most other occupations. More than 10,000

managers with a high school education or less earn even higher median wages, and several thousand well paid administrative supervisors with high school educations or less employed in San Francisco. Seven percent of all San Francisco jobs are occupied by people with a high school education or less working in these three occupational categories.

Because clerical workers constitute such a large absolute number of workers with less than a high school education in San Francisco we are continuing to explore the demographics of clerical workers (Barbour, forthcoming 1997a). We are also analyzing the geographical redistribution of administrative workers in the region (Barbour, forthcoming, 1997b). For San Francisco, and perhaps for other global cities if our findings are replicated, a key question is to determine whether this pattern is a historical artifact--if these workers are mostly older, white women who became clerical workers when many fewer women were pursuing post-secondary education. If that is so administrative support work may be a less promising area of work for people with limited education or for people of color. Our initial findings suggest that administrative support work in San Francisco continues to offer opportunities to job market entrants, including people of color in the future. There were over 13,000 clerical workers in San Francisco with a high school education or less under the age of 35 in 1990 and over 6,000 under the age of 25, so it appears that significant number of young people with a high school education or less were still entering administrative support work in the 1980's. These younger workers are disproportionately women of color (Barbour, forthcoming, 1997a).

Is the administrative support workforce bifurcating into highly skilled, educated, well paid predominantly white workers who use sophisticated information processing technology in the global city economy and less educated, less high tech, disproportionately minority, and much less well paid administrative support workers in back-office type administrative support work? In 1990 administrative support personnel with more than a high school education earned about a third more than those in their age cohort with a high school education or less. White clerical workers earned about 1/3 more on average than nonwhite workers in their age cohort.

Initial analysis of spatial redistribution of the administrative support workforce in the San Francisco Bay Area also raises questions about the long term viability of this source of employment (Barbour, 1997b). San Francisco lost administrative support jobs during the 1980's. Counties closest to San Francisco (Marin and San Mateo) where wages of administrative support workers are high also lost administrative support workers in the 1980's. There was modest growth in the number of administrative support jobs in the peripheral Bay Area counties where average wages are lower.

In summary it appears that in San Francisco the global economy has generated a large number of jobs for people with a high school education or less and despite a shift in administrative support jobs out of San Francisco to lower cost peripheral areas of the region that at least as late as 1990 there was continued absorption of large numbers of young people, into administrative support work. Despite lower average wages for people of color and lower average wages for workers with a high school education or less compared to those with more education administrative support jobs pay well relative to

other work available to people of the same education level. In San Francisco new entrants to administrative support work were by the 1980's disproportionately people of color. Pending further study it appears that despite concern that these jobs may shift out of the city or bifurcate in such a way that they no longer offer good employment to low skilled workers this is still an extremely large and important category of global city work which continues to offer opportunities.

These findings suggest important qualifications to Sassen, Kasarda, and Castell's characterization of urban workforces. While San Francisco data generally confirm Kasarda's jobs/skill mismatch hypothesis they show much greater opportunity for relatively well paying jobs related to the global city economy accessible to people with high school educations or less than Kasarda would predict. While the global city economy in San Francisco is generating both high and low paying jobs of the kind Sassen describes they are also generating significant numbers of mid-level jobs accessible to people with limited education. While economic and social disparities in San Francisco along racial and national origin lines are becoming more pronounced for many city residents, San Francisco's global economy is also generating some significant opportunities for people with limited education to benefit from the city's global city economy.

Findings from San Francisco concerning the relationship between educational attainment and wages for different jobs related to information on job growth/decline and to trends in wages illustrates why multi-variate analysis is necessary to help local policy makers make more informed judgments of what kinds of jobs currently offer the best prospects or are likely in the future to offer the best prospects for hard-to-employ people

in a given economy. Figure 10 below presents information on growth/decline in jobs and increase or decrease in wages between 1980 and 1990 for jobs with a higher than average share of employees with High School Education or less in San Francisco.

Figure 10

Trends by Occupation in San Francisco, for Occupations with Higher than Average Share of Employees with High School Education or Less (Occupations with Above 20% Employees with High School or Less)

	Increase in Real Wages from 1980 to 1990	Decrease in Real Wages from 1980 to 1990
Growth in the Number of Jobs from 1980 to 1990	<u>Above the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Construction <u>Below the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Food Preparation Safety Home Help Personal Services Health Assistants	<u>Above the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Mixed Skills Mail Jobs <u>Below the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Textile Workers Public Sales Information Clerks Material Recording and Scheduling
	<u>Above the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Mechanics/Repairers Secretaries Computer Operators <u>Below the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Cleaning Financial Records Processing Records Processing Communication Equipment Operators Office Machine Operators	<u>Above the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Drivers/Loaders Machine Operators Skilled Manufacturing <u>Below the Median Wage for Educational Level</u> Gardening/Farming/Fishing Miscellaneous Clerical

Source: 1980 and 1990 PUMS Census Data

Bending the Future for Hard-to-employ Global City Workers

While local economic development planners may not be able to control the economic futures of their cities in light of global forces beyond their control they can bend them. If equity is made a consideration they can help produce greater equity than would otherwise be the case. Analyzing San Francisco's post-recession future illustrates how local economic development equity planning can assist local policy makers.

As San Francisco recovers from the recession of the first half of the 1990's key questions are how many jobs of what kind will the economy recover? Will most jobs be in highly skilled, highly paid work inaccessible to people with limited education, or limited English language skills? For hard-to-employ workers specifically how many jobs, doing what, at what rate of pay will the recovery likely produce absent public policy interventions?

Local economic development planners can influence economic outcomes and informed local economic development policies can have a greater and more positive impact than less informed policies. Following are possible interventions which emerged from analysis of San Francisco's economy. Replication of the analysis suggested in this paper may show that these strategies are also appropriate for other global cities.

Enhance Comparative Advantage for Firms that will Promote Equity

Each city will have industrial sectors in which prospects for growth in jobs accessible to hard-to-employ people are more promising than others and some occupational categories which offer greater prospects for employment for hard-to-employ people than others. Michael Porter has argued that cities should understand their comparative advantage and emphasize economic development which will take advantage

of it. Local economic development and job training practitioners who must make decisions about where to deploy limited resources can figure comparative advantage into their decisions about matters such as which businesses should receive SBA loans or what occupations job training programs should be training people to fill. An approach to economic development equity planning could look at *both* comparative advantage and *equity*: targeting economic activities most likely to succeed which will provide the best occupational prospects for hard-to-employ workers.

In San Francisco administrative support jobs are very important because there are a large number of such jobs and people with less than high school, high school, and some college education earn more in administrative support jobs than people with the same amount of education in most other jobs in the city. It appears likely that even if administrative support jobs continue to shift out of the city there will continue to be opportunities for new entrants into this sector. Administrative support jobs may hold equal employment promise for hard-to-employ people in other global cities.

Strategies to promote an even greater net increase in administrative support jobs accessible to people with less than a high school education such as facilitating construction of back office work facilities in disadvantaged neighborhoods, training or providing degree equivalency programs for people who have not completed high school to equip them for administrative support roles, or providing English as a Second Language instruction for linguistically isolated immigrants to give them language skills necessary to hold such jobs appear to be promising strategies in San Francisco and other global cities. Administrative support jobs are also appropriate for regional strategies

Increase Public and Private Sector Construction Jobs

Local governments are themselves significant employers of hard-to-employ people either directly or mediated through private firms hired to do public construction work. As the transportation, communications, office space needs, and other physical aspects of global cities change new construction is needed. High cost dual cities need new construction of assisted housing or rehabilitation of older housing to provide decent affordable housing for lower income residents.

In San Francisco public construction related to airport expansion, construction of new schools, replacement of distressed public housing, a new ballpark, reconstruction of earthquake-damaged public facilities and other work will be a significant activity in the next five years. Public construction is likely to be important and needed in other global cities.

Plans for public construction are more likely to be implementable than plans for private construction. Government capital improvements programs or construction programs by governmental subunits such as the School District or Airport Commission budget funds for specific construction activities. The economic development planners for these institutions are making plans to guide activities on the drawing board. Public construction can make hiring of city residents a priority through first source requirements and may require much more vigorous affirmative action of contractors than occurs in private sector employment. In San Francisco a community workforce collaborative works closely with the San Francisco Unified School District to promote affirmative action hiring for new school construction from within neighborhoods where the schools are located.

Global cities may also be in a position to influence significant private construction projects. In San Francisco a large area of land formerly owned by the Southern Pacific Railroad--Mission Bay--is proposed for more than two billion dollars in redevelopment. Through its land use regulatory power San Francisco has considerable leverage over the proposed developer of Mission Bay not only to influence the character of development, but also hiring for construction and other work related to it.

Both public and private construction is needed in global cities where the physical infrastructure must respond to changed conditions. In San Francisco--and in similarly situated global cities--government promotion of public construction with attention to equity is an essential component of local economic development equity planning.

Improve Wages and Working Conditions for Workers in Marginal Sectors

Analysis of the local occupational structure of a given global city may reveal clusters of activity in occupations which are weakly linked to the global city economy. Extending this analysis to demographic variables may show concentrations by race, gender, immigration status, or English language proficiency in identifiable low status jobs. In San Francisco the status of very poorly paid, Asian immigrant garment workers stands out. San Francisco has physically present within its borders a sub-economy similar to third world garment assembly occurring in Southeast Asia. Figure 7 shows that in San Francisco there are high concentrations of city residents working in other poorly paid low-status occupations such as cleaning and food preparation. Many of these workers are minorities. Qualitative study of working conditions can supplement quantitative information on wages and racial or nationality segregation.

Economic development equity strategies appropriate for segregated, low wage industries may include union organizing targeted to specific demographic groups such as recent immigrants, increased regulation of working conditions, development of educational or training programs to upgrade skills of particular groups of disadvantaged workers, and providing ancillary social services such as child care to these workers.

Regional Economic Equity Planning Strategies

While most economic development planning is done within political units--cities or counties--many theorists argue that labor markets are best understood regionally without respect to political boundaries (Teitz, 1989, Weiwei *et al*, 1989, Peirce 1993, Savitch *et al* 1993, Ledebur *et al*, 1993). Regional analysis may show disparities in the situation of hard-to-employ residents: lower unemployment rates or higher average wages for people with equivalent lack of education, English language ability, physical disability or other job barrier in some areas of a region than another. If food preparation workers in suburbs are earning much more than equivalent central city food preparation workers strategies to make suburban food preparation jobs accessible to central city residents may be in order. This may involve changes in public transportation, assuring portability of housing subsidies, or merely making opportunities known through improved information access to historically isolated poor inner city minority resident communities. The global city analysis in this paper is being extended to the region (Barbour, 1997b).

Community-based Neighborhood Development Strategies

Global cities everywhere in the world have increasingly diverse populations. San Francisco has many ethnic/occupational niches--Cambodians dominate the donut business, there are many Vietnamese nail salons, Sikhs specialize in hotel management, Palestinian Christians run many small grocery stores. There are cultural distinct and well organized Hispanic, Chinese, and African-American neighborhoods and many spatial/racial patterns.

Geographically targeted economic development activities which draw on particular resources and strengths of ethnic communities and empower community institutions are particularly important in global cities. The federal empowerment zone/enterprise community emphasizes geographically-based neighborhood empowerment strategies of economic development. San Francisco is has four federally designated Enterprise Community neighborhoods and has extended the neighborhood strategic planning process used in the Enterprise Community neighborhoods to two additional neighborhoods.

Education is the Most Important Economic Development Equity Strategy

Figure 1 shows that real wages declined dramatically for San Francisco labor force participants with limited education during the period 1980 - 1990. John Kasarda's contention that there is a jobs-skills mismatch between city jobs and the skills of the resident city workforce is generally true for San Francisco. People with less than a high school education are much more likely to be unemployed than those with a high school education¹⁵ and if employed are likely to be in dead end, low wage jobs.¹⁶ In San

¹⁵ Fewer than half (49.10%) of San Francisco minority youth age 16-20 who were not in school were employed in 1990

¹⁶ In 1990 45% of San Francisco's employed minority youth aged 16-20 who were not in school were employed in food preparation (23%) or public sales (20%).

Francisco real wages or workers with the least education are falling further behind at a faster rate than for workers with more education as indicated in Figure 1. These workers are also more likely to have unpleasant, low status, unstable, dead-end jobs.

While Kasarda (Kasarda 1990a, 1990b) argues that many new global city jobs require a college education or higher in San Francisco completion of a *high school degree* greatly increases employment prospects, completion of some college increases prospects more, and completion of a BA degree much more. These findings reinforce the importance of programs to help at risk students stay in school or to provide educational opportunities for people who never completed a high school degree, including immigrants who may not have been able to obtain education in their country of origin. The word *education* is significant. While job *training* may move un- or marginally employed people into some job or an improved job or help transition displaced workers San Francisco data emphasizes the importance of having the skills developed through more systematic education to compete in the shifting and competitive global city labor market.

Social Capital Jobs For Global Cities

Education may be the most critical area in which improvement can lead to greater economic equity, but it is not the only sector in which global cities need investment in social capital. Just as construction is important to adapt the *physical* structure of global cities to their new role investment in transformation of the *human capital* of global cities is essential to adapt the current and future workforce.

ABAG forecasts strong growth in health, education, social services, and nonprofit work. Economic development strategies aimed at creating work in these sectors appears promising in San Francisco, and by implication in other global cities, and will provide work which is badly needed. Helping the residents of global cities adapt to changes of global economic restructuring is even more important than adapting the physical infrastructure of global cities to meet new world realities.

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